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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04506 01 OF 02 211439Z
ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN FULL

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	LAB-04	L-03
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02
	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	RPE-01	/045W				

-----12CC62 211440Z /38

P 211335Z DEC 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5321
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 04506

YOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: POLITICAL CONUNDRUM CONTINUES

REF: KIGALI 4440

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04506 01 OF 02 211439Z

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: PERSONS CLOSE TO THE MDR MEDIATION ARE
OPTIMISTIC THAT THE PARTY SPLIT WILL NOT DELAY THE
TIMETABLE FOR FORMING THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT, BUT
IT IS STILL NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE DISMAS WING OF THE
PARTY WILL BE INCLUDED. END SUMMARY.

BOTH PARTIES AGGRIEVED

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3. PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE CONTINUE TO PRESENT THEMSELVES TO CHARGE AS THE AGGRIEVED PARTY IN THEIR ON-GOING DISPUTE. IN CONVERSATION WITH CHARGE, NSENGIYAREMYE PORTRAYED HIMSELF AS HAVING MADE ALL THE CONCESSIONS TO TWAGIRAMUNGU AND WAS NOW WAITING FOR TWAGIRAMUNGU TO RESPOND IN KIND. HE SAID THAT HE HAD CONVINCED HIS FACTION TO NEGOTIATE WITH FAUSTIN, TO ACCEPT FAUSTIN AS PRIME MINISTER, AND TO AGREE TO LIFT FAUSTIN'S EXCLUSION FROM THE PARTY. HE SAID ALL HE WAS ASKING IN RETURN WAS THAT FAUSTIN ALLOW HIS FACTION TO PROVIDE ALL THREE MINISTERS ALLOCATED TO THE MDR AND TO ASSUME THE PRESIDENCY OF THE PARTY.

4. FOREIGN MINISTER GASANA, COUNSELOR TO TWAGIRAMUNGU IN HIS MEDIATION WITH DISMAS, GAVE CHARGE THE IMPRESSION THAT DISMAS HAD BEEN ANYTHING BUT CONCILIATORY. ACCORDING TO GASANA, THE PRINCIPAL

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04506 01 OF 02 211439Z
ISSUE REMAINS FAUSTIN'S STATUS WITHIN THE PARTY. HE SAID THE DISMAS SIDE CLAIMS ONLY A PARTY CONGRESS CAN "REHABILITATE" TWAGIRAMUNGU. DISMAS WANTS TWAGIRAMUNGU TO COME TO THE PARTY CONGRESS AS A SUPPLEANT RATHER THAN AS PRESIDENT OF THE PARTY. FOR TWAGIRAMUNGU, THIS WOULD CONFIRM THE LEGITIMACY OF THE CONGRESS THAT EXPELLED HIM LAST JULY. FOR HIS PART, TWAGIRAMUNGU WILL COME TO A PARTY CONGRESS ONLY IF HE CONVENES IT AND ONLY IF HE PRESIDES AS CHAIRMAN.

PARTY CONGRESS POSTPONED

5. BOTH SIDES HAVE AGREED TO POSTPONE INTO THE NEW YEAR THE PARTY CONGRESS CALLED BY THE DISMAS FACTION FOR DECEMBER 19. ACCORDING TO RUMOR, IT WILL BE RESCHEDULED FOR JANUARY 28.

NEW MEDIATION

6. INTENSE MEDIATION BETWEEN FAUSTIN AND DISMAS OVER THE PAST WEEK HAS FAILED TO RESOLVE THEIR IMPASSE. LIBERAL PARTY MINISTER FOR SOCIAL AFFAIRS, LANDO

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NDASINGWA, TOLD CHARGE HE IS OPTIMISTIC, HOWEVER,
THAT A COMPROMISE CAN BE FOUND. HE AND PSD MINISTER
FOR AGRICULTURE, FRED NZAMIRAMBAHO, SPENT THREE DAYS
LAST WEEK FACILITATING DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO,
ONE OF WHICH CONTINUED UNTIL 2 AM, AND WERE OFTEN
HEATED, AS THE TWO MADE CHARGES AND COUNTER CHARGES
ABOUT PAST EVENTS. BY THURSDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 16,
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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04506 01 OF 02 211439Z
LANDO SAID THEY HAD REACHED AGREEMENT AND SIGNED A
WRITTEN STATEMENT. HOWEVER, THE STATEMENT NEVER SAW
THE LIGHT OF DAY BECAUSE HARDLINERS IN THE DISMAS
FACTION REFUSED TO ACCEPT IT. THIS MAKES THE SECOND
DOCUMENT DISMAS HAS SIGNED WITH FAUSTIN ONLY TO
REPUDIATE IT SUBSEQUENTLY AFTER CONSULTATION WITH
HARDLINERS.

TWO PRESS CONFERENCES

7. DESPITE APPARENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES
ON DECEMBER 16, DISMAS AND TWAGIRAMUNGU HELD SEPARATE

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04506 02 OF 02 211441Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 04506

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BUT SIMULTANEOUS PRESS CONFERENCES ON OPPOSITE SIDES
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04506 02 OF 02 211441Z
OF TOWN DECEMBER 17. THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE
REITERATED HIS PREDICTION THAT THE BROAD-BASED
GOVERNMENT WOULD BE IN PLACE DECEMBER 30. HE MADE IT
CLEAR, THOUGH, THAT HE DID NOT CONSIDER
RECONCILIATION A PRECONDITION FOR FORMATION OF THE
BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO ANNOUNCED SUPPORT
FOR THE MDR AND PL DEPUTIES ELECTED BY THEIR
RESPECTIVE PARTIES LAST AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, A
STATEMENT WELCOMED BY MINISTER LANDO ELECTED AS A PL
DEPUTY AT THAT TIME.

8. AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE, FORMER PRIME MINISTER
NSENGIYAREMYE CONTINUED TO SUPPORT THE DECISIONS OF
HIS FACTION TO SUSPEND TWAGIRAMUNGU FROM THE PARTY.
HOWEVER, HE TOOK AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD BRIDGING
THE GAP BETWEEN THE HARDLINERS IN HIS WING OF THE
PARTY AND THE PROGRESSIVE STAND OF TWAGIRAMUNGU. HE
SUPPORTED THE MDR AS THE HISTORICAL SUCCESSOR TO THE
MDR-PARMEHUTU PARTY OF 1959 (AS OPPOSED TO ITS
PRO-HUTU INTERPRETATION) BUT SAID THAT THIS LEGACY
SHOULD BE COMPLEMENTED BY CONCEPTS OF INDEPENDENCE,

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BISHOP'S MEDIATION INTERRUPTED

9. THE MEETING OF FAUSTIN AND DISMAS SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER 22 UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CLERGY HAS BEEN POSTPONED AS DISMAS DEPARTED RWANDA TEMPORARILY DECEMBER 19. HE TOLD THE PRESS HE HAD TO GO TO BRUSSELS FOR PERSONAL REASONS. HE TOLD CHARGE THAT
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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04506 02 OF 02 211441Z
HIS WIFE WILL DELIVER THEIR FIFTH CHILD BEFORE CHRISTMAS. HE PLANS TO RETURN TO KIGALI DECEMBER 25. THIS WILL PUSH THE BISHOP'S MEDIATION VERY CLOSE TO THE TARGET DATE FOR FORMING THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

COMMENT

I10. BOTH FAUSTIN AND DISMAS CONTINUE TO PRESENT THEMSELVES AS THE AGGRIEVED PARTY IN THEIR DISPUTE AND ARE TRYING TO ENGAGE THE U.S. TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE OTHER SIDE TO CAPITULATE. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THEY HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS. BUT THEY HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO BEFORE TRUE RECONCILIATION CAN OCCUR. IN THE PROCESS, FAUSTIN REMAINS ALOOF AND PUBLICLY ABOVE THE FRAY. DISMAS, ON THE OTHER HAND IS LOSING CREDIBILITY AS HE SHUTTLES BETWEEN NEGOTIATIONS WITH FAUSTIN AND CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTY HARDLINERS, INEVITABLY BACKTRACKING ON HIS AGREEMENTS AFTERWARDS.

11. FAUSTIN APPEARS TO BE HOLDING ALL THE CARDS AT THE MOMENT. THE ISSUE OF HIS STATUS IN THE PARTY, THE CRUX OF THE DISPUTE AND KEY TO RECONCILIATION, CAN BE DEFERRED UNTIL AFTER THE FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT. THIS WOULD GIVE HIM A FREE HAND IN NAMING MDR MINISTERS AND COULD LEAVE DISMAS WITHOUT A PORTFOLIO. THERE IS TALK, HOWEVER, THAT FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA MAY MAKE A SEPARATE PEACE WITH FAUSTIN AND END UP HOLDING A PORTFOLIO IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

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PAGE 04

KIGALI 04506 02 OF 02 211441Z

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